Jordan Sent Jets to Pakistan Despite Ban, U.S. Confirms

By Jesse W. Lewis Jr. Washington Post Staff Writer

The State Department/confirmed yesterday that about 10 ized transfer of U.S. military equipment to third countries.

State Department spokessaid the U.S. government has questioned Libya about reports that three F-5 jets were sent to Pakistan. According to the reports, those planes arrived stopped, he said.

"Based on information availrecent hostilities.

"We were informed that ington last month. these aircraft remained under Jordanian control and were resible exception of one plane." He said. He had no information on whether the planes were used in combat or whether Jordanian or Pakistani pilots flew them.

However, officials said privately that it is unlikely that future U.S. military aid to Jordan would be affected.

Jordan is scheduled to receive between 12 and 24 U.S. manufactured F-5s, a low-cost, multi-purpose jet fighter, over hardware.

McCloskey said that State

Assistance Act."

force F-104 jet fighters were countries forbids the transfer Jordan or Saudi Arabia to in Pakistan during the recent of the equipment to a third Pakistan as an effort to "tilt" Pakistani-Indian war despite a country unless authorized by U.S. policy in Pakistan's favor. standing ban on the unauthor- the United States, a U.S. offi- He was told by a State Departcial said.

man Robert J. McCloskey also the past year "the United were leaked to columinist States has not authorized any Jack Anderson. transfer of U.S. military equipment."

A U.S. official said there U.S. after the fighting was "surprise" in Washington Amman, Jordan, that he was when confidential reports indi-dismayed and surprised that cated that Jordan had sent the Jordan's confidential inquiry able to us," McCloskey said, planes to Pakisatn. He also about aiding its ally Pakistan "we understand that approxi-said King Hussein was asked would appear in the press. mately 10 F-104s from Jordan about the reports in Amman Visit by Hussein were in Pakistan during the and that it was discussed with him during his visit to Wash-

The U.S. policy of pro-Paki-"tilt" was probably stan turned to Jordan with the pos-sensed by Jordan. It apparently felt obligated in any case to aid its Moslem ally Pakistan because of Pakistani assistance during Jordan's civil war of September 1970.

During that conflict, Pakistani air force officers played it came up during his visit. operational and tactical roles in helping Jordan to repel Syrder to attack Jordanian positions.

ment for the United States.

Department policy and legal meeting during the recent issue was discussed for the experts were studying the Pakistan-Indian war, presiden-first time.

| facts "in light of the Foreign | tial adviser Henry A. Kissinger reportedly asked if the The law that governs U.S. United States "had the right" military assistance to foreign to transfer U.S. arms from ment official that it would be McCloskey said that within illegal. Minutes of the meeting

> Shortly after Anderson's disclosure, King Hussein told a embassy official

When King Hussein was yisiting Washington last month, the issue surfaced again in a New York Times dispatch from Pakistan reporting that both Jordan and Libya had sent U.S.-supplied fighter planes to Pakistan.

During an interview with this reporter, the king indirectly confirmed the report, but said he was perplexed that

The State Department dein helping Jordan to repel Syr-ian tanks that crossed the bor-time to avoid further embarrassment to the king while he was here. King Hussein left The Jordanian jets in Paki- the United States at noon yesthe next two years, and other stan have been an embarrass- terday after a vacation in Florida. Yesterday, at the noon At a secret White House State Department briefing, the

U.S. Discussions of Indian-Pakistani War Texts of Secret Documents on Top-Level

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5-Following are the texts of three secret documents made public today by the columnist Jack Anderson describing meetings of the National Security Council's Washington Special Action Group on the crisis between India and Pakistan:

Memo on Dec. 3 Meeting

Secret Sensitive

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE washington, D. C. 20301

Refer to: 1-29643/71

International Security Affairs Memorandum for Record

SUBJECT

WSAG meeting on India/Pakistan participants.

Assistant to the President for national security affairs-Henry A. Kissinger Under Secretary of State - John N.

Deputy Secretary of Defense - David Packard

Director, Central Intelligence Agency-Richard M. Helms

Deputy Administrator (A.I.D.)-Maurice

J. Williams Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff- Adm.

Thomas H. Moorer Assistant Secretary of State (N.E.E.A.R.)

-Joseph J. Sisco

Assistant Secretary of Defense (I.S.A.) -G. Warren Nutter

Assistant Secretary of State (I.O.)-Samuel De Palma

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (I.S.A.)—Armistead I. Selden

Assistant Administrator (A.I.D/N.E.S.A.) -- Donald G. MacDonald

TIME AND PLACE 3 December 1971, 1100 hours, Situation Room, White House.

SUMMARY

Reviewed conflicting reports about major actions in the west wing. C.I.A. agreed to produce map showing areas under the \$99-million credit. He wants of East Pakistan occupied by India. The President orders hold on issuance of additional irrevocable letters of credit involving \$99-million, and a hold on further action implementing the \$7million P.L. 480 credit. Convening of Security Council meeting planned contingent on discussion with Pak Ambassador this afternoon plus further clarification of actual situation in West Pakistan. Kissinger asked for clarification of secret special interpretation of March, 1959, bilateral U. S. agreement Pak Ambassador this afternoon, and the with Pakistan.

KISSINGER: I am getting hell every move in the U.N. soon. half-hour from the President that we are not being tough enough on India, of this as soon as we have some con-He has just called me again. He does firmation of this large-scale new action, not believe we are carrying out his If the U.N. can't operate in this kind of wishes. He wants to till die favor Rejease 200 1/03/04 litt CIA RD P&9-01-601 R000 3002 10006-3

comes out otherwise.

HELMS: Concerning the reported action in the west wing, there are conflicting reports from both sides and the only common ground is the Pak attacks on the Amritsar, Pathankot and Srinagar airports. The Paks say the Indians are attacking all along the border; but the Indian officials say this is a lie. In the east wing the action is becoming larger and the Paks claim there are now seven separate fronts involved.

KISSINGER: Are the Indians seizing territory?

HELMS: Yes; small bits of territory, definitely.

SISCO: It would help if you could provide a map with a shading of the areas occupied by India. What is happening in the West-is a full-scale attack likely?

MOORER: The present pattern is puzzling in that the Paks have only struck at three small airfields which do not house significant numbers of Indian combat aircraft.

HELMS: Mrs. Gandhi's speech at 1:30 may well announce recognition of Bangladesh.

MOORER: The Pak attack is not credible. It has been made during late afternoon, which doesn't make sense. We do not seem to have sufficient facts on this yet.

KISSINGER: Is it possible that the Indians attacked first and the Paks simply did what they could before dark in response?

MOORER: This is certainly possible. KISSINGER: The President wants no more irrevocable letters of credit issued the \$72-million P.L. 480 credit also held.

WILLIAMS: Word will soon get around when we do this. Does the President understand that?

KISSINGER: That is his order, but I will check with the President again. If asked, we can say we are reviewing our whole economic program and that the granting of fresh aid is being suspended in view of conditions on the subcontinent. The next issue is the U.N.

IRWIN: The Secretary is calling in the Secretary leans toward making a U.S.

KISSINGER: The President is in favor

SISCO: We will have a recommendation for you this afternoon, after the meeting with the Ambassador. In order to give the Ambassador time to wire home, we could tentatively plan to convene the Security Council tomorrow.

KISSINGER: We have to take action. The President is blaming me, but you people" are in the clear.

SISCO: That's ideal!

KISSINGER: The earlier draft for

Bush is too even-handed.

SISCO: To recapitulate, after we have seen the Pak Ambassador, the Secretary will report to you. We will update the draft speech for Bush.

KISSINGER: We can say we favor political accommodation but the real job of the Security Council is to prevent military action.

SISCO: We have never had a reply either from Kosygin or Mrs. Gandhi.

WILLIAMS: Are we to take economic steps with Pakistan also?

KISSINGER: Wait until I talk with the President. He hasn't addressed this problem in connection with Pakistan vet.

SISCO: If we act on the Indian side, we can say we are keeping the Pakistan situation "under review."

KISSINGER: It's hard to tilt toward Pakistan if we have to match every Indian step with a Pakistan step. If you wait until Monday, I can get a Presidential decision.

PACKARD: It should be easy for us to inform the banks involved to defer action inasmuch as we are so near the weekend.

KISSINGER: We need a WSAG in the morning. We need to think about our treaty obligations. I remember a letter or memo interpreting our existing treaty with a special India tilt. When I visited Pakistan in January, 1962, I was briefed on a secret document or oral understanding about contingencies arising in other than the SEATO context. Perhaps it was a Presidential letter. This was a special interpretation of the March, 1959, bilateral agreement.

Prepared by: /S/ initials

JAMES M. NOYES Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, African and South Asian Af-

Approved: (illegible signature)

For G. Warren Nutter Assistant Secretary of Denfense for International Security Affairs

Distribution: Secdef, Depsecdef, CJCS, ASD(ISA), PDASD(ISA), DASD: NEASA

STATINTL

- U.N. guarantees in the Middle East.

continuòd

Approved Egraffelease 2001/03904ANCHAZRDR80x01601R0

issinger: I Am Getung rom the President

Following is a typescript of the secret documents turned over to The Washington Post yesterday by Syndicated columnist Jack Ander-

SECRET SENSITIVE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301 ** Prince to: 1-29643/71 DOWNGRADED AT 12 YEARS INTERVALS (Illegible) Not Automatically Declassified INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS MEMORANDUM FOR

SUBJECT: WSAG Meeting on India/Pakistan

RECORD

Participants: Assistant to . the President for Nation-Security Affairs-Henry A. Kissinger

Under Secretary of State-John N. Irwin

Deputy Secretary of Defense -David Packard

Director, Central Intelligence Agency-Richard M. Helms

Deputy Administrator (AID) Maurice J. Williams II Chairman, Joint Chiefs of

Staff-Admiral Thomas Moorer

Assistant Secretary of State (NEA)—Joseph J. Sisco Assistant Secretary of De-

fense (ISA)-G. Warren Nutter

Assistant Secretary of State (IO)—Samuel DePalma

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA)-Armistead I. Selden jr.

Assistant Administrator (AIDINESA)—Donald G. MacDonald

Time and Place: 3 December 1971, 1100 hours, Situation Room. White House.

SUMMARY:

Reviewed conflicting reports about major action in the West Wing. CIA agreed to produce map showing areas of East Pakistan occupied by India. The President orders hold on issuance of additional irrevocable

further action implementing the \$72 million PL 480 credit. Convening of Security Council meeting planned contingent on discussion with Pak Ambassador this afternoon plus further clarification of actual situation in West Pakistan, Kissinger asked for clarification of secret special interpretation of March 1959 bilateral U.S. agreement with Pakistan.

KISSINGER: I am getting hell every half hour from the President that we are not being tough enough on India. He has just called me again. He does not believe we are carrying out his wishes. He wants to tilt in favor of Pakistan. He feels everything we do comes out otherwise.

HELMS: Concerning the reported action in the West Wing, there are conflicting reports from both sides and the only common ground is the Pak attacks on the Amritsar, Pathankat, and Srinagar airports. The Paks say the Indians are attacking all along the border; but the Indian officials says this is a lie. In the East Wing, the action is becoming larger and the Paks claim there are now seven separate fronts involved.

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WILLIAMS: Word will soon get around when we do this Does the President underst ind that?

KISSINGER: That is his order, but I will check with the President again. If asked, we can say we are reviewing our whole economic program and that the granting of fresh aid is being suspended in view of conditions on the Subcontinent. The next issue is the UN.

IRWIN: The Secretary is calling in the Pak Ambassador this afternoon, and the Secretary teans toward making a U.S. move in the U.N. soon.

KISSINGER: The President is in favor of this as soon as we have some confirmation of this largescale new action. If the U.N. can't operate in this kind of situation effectively, its utility has come to an end and it is useless to think of U.N. guarantees in the Middle East.

SISCO: We will have a recommendation for you this afternoon, after the meeting with the Ambassador. In order to give the Ambassador time to wire home, we could tentatively plan to convene the Security Council tomorrow.

KISSINGER: We have to is blaming me, but you SISCO: That's ideal!.

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/s/initials James H. Noyes Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, African and South Asian Affairs

Approved: Illegible signature for G. Warren Nutter Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security affairs

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Secret Minutes Dispute Kissinger

By Jack Anderson

We can now document from secret White House minutes our charge that presidential braintruster Henry Kissinger lied to reporters when he told them the Nixon administration of the them the Nixon administration of the them the Nixon administration of the nixon at the nix

minutes show that President war, President Yahya has whether the Indians have Nixon not only ordered a pro-stated that "the final war with stated anything to the effect through. Pakistan policy but became fu- India is upon us' . . . rious with his subordinates for not taking a stronger stand against India.

"I am getting hell every half we are not being tough enough on India," complained egy session.

Three days later, according we show a certain coolness to what to whom and when. the Indians. The Indian amat too high a level."

Washington Special Action marks by Yahya. Group. Here's a typical ex- "Dr. Kissinger replied that more light on this:

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Kissinger's Semantics

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Pakistan policy but became fu- India is upon us' . . . rious with his subordinates for not taking a stronger stand against India.

"I am getting hell every half hour from the President that we are not being tough. enough on India," complained Kissinger at the Dec. 3 strategy session.

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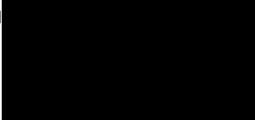
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Probe Is On To Find Leak To Anderson

Associated Press

U.S. officials said yesterday a security investigation is under way to find out who "leaked" to a columnist inside information about White House strategy sessions early this month concerning the India-Pakistan conflict.

The officials, who declined to be identified by name, voiced concern about the publication of the material by columnist Jack Anderson.

Anderson columns have been quoting from what Anderson says are classified reports. They deal in part with suggestions by some administration officials that some countries such as Jordan be allowed to transfer U.S.-furnished arms to Pakistan.

The administration did not engage in such transfers, and maintained its embargo on weapons deliveries to Pakistan.

Some of Anderson's material is said to come from meetings of the special action group that deliberated U.S. India-Pakistan policy at the White House during the first days of December.

The group is led by presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger, head of the White House National Security Council staff, and includes senior representatives from concerned agencies such as the State Department, the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

U.S., Soviet Vessels in Bay of Bengal

By Jack Anderson

A dangerous confrontation is developing between Soviet and American naval forces in the Bay of Bengal.

· President Nixon has ordered a naval task force into those troubled waters as a restraint the Bay of Bengal are the aircraft carrier Enterprise, amguided missile frigate King, and guided missile destroyers Parsons, Decatur and Tartar

At the same time, Soviet naval ships have been spotted steaming into the Bay of Bengal ostensibly to holster India.

gence reports claim that Soviet technicians are aboard Inshore installations. U.S., Brit-out otherwise." ish and other foreign merthese attacks.

the rockets could have been tions. launched from a Soviet sub-

favoritism for Pakistan. He antees in the Middle East." has developed a close personal

relationship with Pakistan's tion for you this afternoon," gent appeals from Kenneth dynamic President Yahya promised Assistant State Sec | Keating, the American Ambas-Khan.

Mr. Nixon, accordingly, has ordered his crisis team, known formally as the Washington Special Action Group, to find ways short of direct intervention to help Pakistan. The upon India. Now heading for hush-hush group, headed by presidential policymaker Henry Kissinger, has been meeting almost daily in the phibious assault ship Tripoli, White House's fabled secret Situation Room since the Indian Pakistani outbreak.

Nixon's Secret Ire

At the Dec. 3 meeting Kissinger snorted: "I'm getting hell every half-hour from the President that we're not being tough enough on India. He has Even more ominous, intelli-just called me again. He view." doesn't believe we're carrying out his wishes. He wants to dian naval craft that have at tilt in favor of Pakistan. He tacked Pakistani harbor and feels everything we do comes

Adm. Thomas Moorer, chairchant ships have been hit in man of the Joint Chiefs of U.S. Too Gentle? Staff, reviewed the military / At the next secret meeting Rockets fired from under situation. CIA Chief Richard on Dec. 4, Kissinger reported the ocean have also been Helms also reported what his that the President was still tracked. The Pakistani Navy agents had found out about fuming over the gentle treathas urgently requested U.S. the fighting. Then Kissinger ment U.S. spokesmen were help in determining whether brought up the United Na-giving India.

marine.

Inside the White House, Inside the President has come to an end, and it is kept apprised of affairs as made no attempt to hide his useless to think of U.N. guar they progress."

retary Joseph Sisco.

"We have to take action," pressed Kissinger, "The Presi-alienate India. dent is blaming me, but you people are in the clear."

"That's ideal!" Sisco cheerlly.

a statement that had been prepared for Ambassador George Bush to deliver at the U.N. evenhanded" and ought to be tougher on India.

To maintain a diplomatic balance, Sisco suggested that economic steps could be taken Bengalis to rule themselves. against India but that similar moves against Pakistan should Keating sharply disputed a be announced as "under re-

"It's hard to tilt toward Pak-islan," grumped Kissinger, "if we have to match every Indian step with a Pakistan

"The President is under the "If the U.N. can't operate in 'illusion' that he is giving in-

Mr. Nixon, meanwhile, has "We'll have a recommendadisregarded several secret, ur-

sador in New Delhi, that the U.S. should be careful not to

He reported that he had received personal assurances retorted from Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh not only that There was discussion about the populace welcomed the liberation of East Pakistan but that India had no intention of annexing the conquered terri-Kissinger thought it was "too tory. India had no wish, said Singh, to provide "even a semblance of Indian administration" but would permit the

> In another secret message, story put out by the White House about the Indian Paki. stani developments.

"I have made the foregoing comments," he concluded, "in the full knowledge that I may not have been privy to all the important facts of this tragedy. On the basis of what I do know, I do not believe those elements of the (White House) story either add to our position or, perhaps more importantly, to our credibility.'

It would be ironic if Richard Nixon, who mounted the political soapbox in times past to accuse the Democrats of "losing" China to the Communists, should be responsible for pushing India into eager So-

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OCT 5 1971

LONDON CAPER ALERTS FBI

Red Spies By Paul Scott Got Anti-Radar Data

THE BRITISH government's sensational crackdown on Soviet spying was triggered by the discovery that the Russians had stolen one of Britain's most important defense secrets.

A high-ranking Soviet official, who defected to the West during the summer, touched off the massive British espionage investigation by revealing that the Russians had obtained the blueprints of an electronic counter (EC) device capable of blacking out all ground radar detection systems.

Tremendous significance of the Soviet espionage windfall is indicated by the fact that all British aircraft carrying atomic bombs targeted for Russia are equipped with these electronic counter devices.

Tests show that the A-bombers, equipped with the "EC" device, have been able successfully to penetrate the air defenses of Russia and the U.S. without detection. The British "EC" device is regarded by American Air Force officials as the best of its type in the world.

RUSSIA'S POSSESSION of the secrets of the electronic counter device will permit Moscow to make its own and to develop effective defense measures against British A-bombers, considered to be among the most powerful in the world.

With the help of the Russian defector, the British were able to identify more than 100 Russians actively involved in approximately a half-dozen espionage rings in Great Britain and the U.S.

Details involving new Russian spy operations in this country are now being investigated by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover after being turned over to FBI agents regularly stationed in London and who took part in the questioning of the Soviet defector.

FBI Director Hoover has kept several of his top agents in London at all times because of the tremendous number of Soviet spies there.

Hoover would also like to see a crack-



HOOVER

down on Soviet-bloc spying in the U.S. Based on the information obtained from the Soviet defector, Hoover has warned the White House that 80 per cent of all personnel assigned to Soviet diplomatic establishments here and at the United Nations are actively involved in espionage operations in the U.S.

Most disturbing to Hoover is the steady increase in Russian and Sovietbloc diplomatic personnel assigned to the U.S. As of September 1, there were 1,172 Soviet bloc officials and 1,454 of their dependents in the U.S.

The buildup is evident when compared to the 806 officials and 1,174 dependents in the U.S. as of July 1, 1966. Not included in these figures are the numerous couriers, members of special delegations and other Soviet bloc officials temporarily in this country but not assigned to official establishments.

A guerrilla war is developing in East Pakistan that could become another

now being circulated among President Nixon's top foreign policy and military advisers. Prepared on the request of the White House, the intelligence estimate states that there is a real possibility of the major powers of Asia becoming involved in the fighting there.

The rising scale of the warfare in East Pakistan is indicated by the latest report from the American embassy in New Delhi, It reveals that Pakistani government soldiers are being killed at an average rate of 40 to 50 a day-or double the number of Americans now dying weekly in Vietnam.

The CIA predicts that the intensity of the fighting will grow when the monsoons end later this month. East Pakistani resistance fighters are planning a new offensive at that time aimed at completely destroying the country's communication and power system.

The 10,000 armed guerrillas now waging war in East Pakistan are being reinforced with 5,000 Mukti Bahini (liberation army) fighters, who have just fin-ished two months of training in India or border sanctuaries controlled by the guerrillas.

ARMED WITH machine guns and skilled in demolition weapons, these new guerrilla fighters have been selected from college graduates and high school volunteers. Another 5,000 of these volunteers are now in training.

Resistance within East Pakistan is now being led by young members of the violence-prone Communist Naxalites, according to American intelligence authorities. Arms are being supplied to this group by India and the Soviet Un-

If the fighting continues to increase, the CIA forecasts that more than one million could die from famine alone within a year. There are an estimated 65 million people in East Pakistan, which has an area of 54,501 square

Approved For Release 2001/03/04: CIA-RDP80-01601R000300210006-3

This is the alarming forecast in a Central Intelligence Agency estimate

Agents Question Personnel -- Use of Lie-Detectors on Officials Reported

> By FRED P. GRAHAM Special to The New York Times .

WASHINGTON, Sept. 2 ---State Department personnel are being questioned by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in an effort to determine how recent sensitive information leaked to the press, the department's press spokesman disclosed today.

The spokesman, Robert J. McCloskey, said in response to reporters' questions at a press briefing, that the investigation had been prompted by concern that "stories harmful to the national interest" were being disclosed by unauthorized persons.

He repeatedly declined to make a denial when asked about reports that F.B.I. agents were giving State Department officials lie-detector tests in efforts to locate the sources of the news leaks.

Mr. McCloskey said the F.B.I. questioning was being done "with the approval of the Secretary of State," but he declined to say who had ordered it. Powell Moore, an official in the Justice Department's information office, said that the inyestigation had been ordered by that department's Internal Security Division.

Mr. Moore said that such action was taken whenever there was evidence of violations of the Federal security laws, and that the current questioning had extended to other departments, including the Pentagon. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is an agency of the Justice Department.

The questioning by F.B.I. and the reported use of licdetectors has touched sensitive nerves in the State Department, where, officials say, the disciplinary action, he said bureau has not been active that such a reprimand would since it investigated charges not necessarily be considered Communist infiltration

Approved For Release 2003/65/0497 CIA-RDP80-0160

The State Department has its own security force that is supposed to investigate security

In recent weeks newsmen who report on the State Department have found that people there would not see them or answer their telephone calls. Today, at his regular noon briefing, Mr. McCloskey was asked a series of questions about the investigation and other official actions that have apparently prompted officials to close their doors to the press.

Taboos Conceded

McCloskey conceded that certain subjects had been temporarily placed off limits for discussion with the press by State Department personnel. These include President Nixon's coming trip to China and the one-man election campaign of South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu.

But Mr. McCloskey insisted, "I have told them that people need not close doors or refuse to return phone calls because a subject for a period may be off limits for general distribu-tion." He said there had been no efforts to limit "contacts" between State Department personnel and the press, but only to persuade officials to "use their common sense in dealing with the journalists."

"The State Department has a deep concern, and I would expect the public in general would understand, that information that could be prejudicial to the national interest in foreign policy is not to be published or broadcast," Mr. McCloskey Mr.

Times Article Mentioned

He said that F.B.I. agents had approached State Department officials "on a number of oc-casions," but he would not say what news articles had been involved.

Some individuals who were. questioned said that the agents asked about an article by William Beecher in The New York Times of July 22, giving details of United States negotiators' positions in the arms limita-tions talks with the Soviet Union.

Others were asked about an earlier article by Tad Szulc in The New York Times about arms shpiments to Pakistan.

Mr. McCloskey said, "To the best of my knowledge, no disciplinary action has been taken against any person ques-tioned." Asked if a reprimand or notation placed in a Foreign, Service officer's record was a a disciplinary action.

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Approved For Release 2001/03/04: Ella RDP80-01601R000300210006-3

davits saying whether they had talked to certain reporters.